1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

121 in the growth of ecological thinking, though this history is older.

But when we say that it has paralleled ecological thinking, we do not mean that the approach should be identical or even similar. In ecology, the plant or animal, as an individual or in association, is studied as part of the community of plants and animals, whose own growth may be encouraged or hindered by the growth and competition from others. When we study human cultures, this functional approach breaks down. It is not enough to show the context of each cultural trait in the whole, indispensable as this may be. This might produce a satisfying interpretation but it would suffer from important omissions. These are the history of the culture and the periods of contact and isolation that may have characterized it and the changes that the culture has made in the physical environment in which it is placed. No place in the world offers such fruitful illustrations over so great an area and over so long a period of time as Southeast Asia, with the exception of the Mediterranean. The great changes in the soils due to paddy culture and the long fertilization from human excreta and plant residues, soil erosion, deforestation, the minute changes of land from mountain tops to the cultivated valleys can be found in abundance here.

121 This study of three villages on the island of Okinawa is concerned
●181 with many of these themes. As the inquiry progressed and during the period
182 of reflection that followed the collection of materials, it seemed that the most significant characteristic was the existence of the family system, and that this had meaning not only in the places where one would expect it, such as family and daily life, and in the desire to respect the memory of the dead and to guard against extinction of the family line, but that its influence was the key to an understanding of the way in which the culture had changed and modified the natural environment and utilized the resources available to it.

The connecting link between the family system, on the one hand, and the use of the natural environment, on the other, is the system of inheritance, and through the inheritance system on land tenure and land use. And when speaking of land tenure and land use, the reference is not merely to the agricultural land, but to all land, including the forest soils of the north, the uncultivated land scattered over the island, but so vital in its production of grasses to the livelihood of peoples.

121 One of the most striking aspects of this culture is its dependence on
181 plants, not only for food, but for uses other than food. Houses, their
824 roofs and sidings, plank floorings, excepting only the stones; fibres or wood for sandals or clogs; grasses, cane stalks, shrubbery for fuels; imported cottons for clothing, which have replaced an earlier dependence on reeds or banana leaves; fibres and reeds for rugs and floor mats; rice stalks or other grasses for making carrying baskets; rope of palm or of rice stalks; wooden poles, are but a few illustrations of this close dependence on plant life. It is a culture based on the utilization of plants for all purposes to which are added the multifarious and skillful employment of stone and of water.

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The nature of the land itself is then explained with emphasis on the historical significance of the old communal land system (jiwari seido) and on the system introduced by the Japanese, slightly over fifty years ago, of private ownership of land. Here I have tried to show that one of the central facts of the culture is the intimate knowledge which the people possess of their land and its capabilities, and that this knowledge is based on experience of farmers, expressed in the system of land classification.

Once the land tenure system and land classification are understood, it becomes necessary to show in what way the land and the soils are being used and conserved. It should be obvious that large populations living off a small island could only have subsisted, as they have in the agricultural lands of China and Japan, by intensive fertilization, minute care of the arable land, and conservation measures. This is extended here to the non-arable lands, for these have an extraordinary significance in the lives and well-being of the people.

With these facts before us, we are in a better position to understand the manner in which agriculture is pursued. In the chapter on agriculture I have been concerned with describing it as something more than a mere technique, a routine of planting and harvesting, but as a way of life bound up with the family system, inheritance, subdivision and fragmentation, land classification, and soil conservation.

Agriculture certainly is the normal way of life in Okinawa. But fishing, stonecutting, the use and the exploitation of the forests are not exotic exceptions. They are important, if secondary occupations, and the materials from Hinatotawa-Nagamo and Matsuda are used to illustrate the use of the waters, the quarries, and the forests. With respect to the forests, I have tried to show their intimate relation to the welfare of the whole island, perhaps neither so intimate nor so crucial as in Japan, but meriting the emphasis which I have given them.

Following the discussion of these topics, I have described in some detail the everyday life of villages, pointing out similarities and differences between villages when these seem to have significance. The main theme here is that in daily life from infancy to old age, the sense of belonging to a culture is never lost, and that it is this fact that probably has brought about the emotional security of Okinawans which has struck many foreign observers. This sense of belonging, I feel, is much more important than the various single explanations, such as breast feeding, that have been urged as causes of the development of a sense of security. Without trying to make sharp distinctions, I have tried to show how the daily life changes with different ages and to follow in the experience of the individual from infancy to the observances which take place at his death, and to make clear that the distinctions between the individual, the family, and the community experience are more literary conventions or devices for convenience in exposition than realities, for there is such a blending of the three that it would be highly artificial to deal with these as separate areas of experience. The two month infant carried on the back of his sister through

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had been directed by the British government, at the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars, to discover and chart waters and routes in the Far East, especially along the China shore. 175 648

Hall found in Okinawa a people who knew nothing of the English or the French. They were acquainted only with the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Koreans. The Okinawans of his day apparently had forgotten any memories of their seafaring in the centuries and this ignorance of their neighbors was reciprocated by the Filipinos.[19]

Halls book describing his journey along the west coast of Korea and to the Great Loochoo, with its engravings and a vocabulary of Loochooan words, is written with spirit and great charm.

Hall's and M'Leod's accounts were very favorable to the Okinawans. They describe an honest, peace loving, unworried people, with neither money nor arms, kindly and hospitable, without guile. According to him, they were gentle and kind, secure within the classes in which their society was organized (and the social distinctions that went with it), adhering with tenacity to their own customs, gracious to those of others, an island of quiet beauty, fertility, and repose. In the manner of the voyages and travels of the times, there are wisps of information about many things, exhaustive accounts of none. Hall described the agriculture, the square plots of rice fields divided from one another by small banks of earth, the picturesque villages with their hedges, arbors, and the creepers over the bamboo, the dress according to rank, the casual attitude toward religion, domestic animals, the lack of carts and wheeled vehicles, the horseshoe tombs, and the tattooing, not of the women, but of the fishermen. [181]

Considering the difficulties Hall and his men had in landing, the endless importunity and cajolery required to get permission to walk along a village road, for the Okinawans were willing to feed, provision and entertain the travellers but were in no mood for guided tours, he has much of interest to record of the island and its people. The expedition travelled around the southeastern and eastern part of the island, made a poor map of the Great Loochoo, and named the town of Unten--called by him Conching or Winching--Port Melville, after the first lord of the Admiralty.

M'Leod's book covered much the same ground. He wrote also of the priestesses (the noros), of the irrigation systems, the Loochooans' lack of money, their use of ginseng, and mentioned the extensive forests.

[Text Continues on Top of P. 36--Analyst]

19 Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Lew Chew, 184: "At Manilla /sic/ we found that the Great Loo-choo Island was known only by name. There appeared to be no intercourse between the two places." Page 184, footnote. There was some memory of Broughton's shipwreck on Miyako.

absence of need of a similar release from the boring and monotonous life of the women. Yet I noticed little in the behavior of village women to indicate they were overwhelmed by monotony or bored with life, though perhaps longer residence in the villages would have proved this observation false. Might one say that the culture does not fulfill its promise to the men, even though they are favored and catered to and that the drinking is the result of this disappointment? This neglects the fact that drinking is old in the culture and is almost always done in the company of others. If personal frustration and disappointment were the cause, one might expect more compulsive and solitary drinking and more alcoholism.

The sources of this distinction between the drinking men and the abstemious women, I think, lie in the values held by the culture. In the first place, sake drinking is age old in Japan, and probably in Okinawa as well. Drinking sake is associated with ceremonies, such as marriage, with religious observances, with social and public life. The public life of an official, a shopkeeper or business man, a farmer, a fisherman is not divorced from entertainment. Men have an outside life. In their dealings with other men, they are accustomed to drinking. Women do not have this outside life. They have inside duties of which the care of the children and of the house are the most important. Historically, the source of the abstemiousness of the women may be the obligations of being a mother, to be ready at all times to care and provide for or nurse her children, obligations considered incompatible with drinking. Women are expected to be polite, refined, and quiet. These ideals may be difficult to maintain in drinking.

At times a husband and wife may participate in social gatherings as a couple. These gatherings may either be (1) an informal, often casual, event when guests drop in and spend part of the evening, and (2) the formal affairs, such as a marriage, a birthday celebration, a holiday, an extended family reunion, or the observance of a death anniversary. On these occasions, the men occupy the first room, the women the second. The entertainment and conversations of the evening are for the most part governed by this segregation.

Though women are tolerant of drinking, domestic difficulties are often caused by the drinking of the man. Frequent drinking with its noise and late hours may result in family quarrels (fufukanka). Quarrels involving the wife and the husband's female relatives, especially the mother, are said to be uncommon. In the southern villages, the war did away with one cause of family quarrels. Men no longer go to the geisha quarter. There are naturally tensions coming out of individual antagonisms and dissatisfactions: the husband's mother who ignores her grandchild because she dislikes her daughter-in-law, pressure on a woman to produce children to satisfy the pride of the husband and of the grandparents, and failure to bear children, which usually leads to divorce initiated by the husband. Divorces, in these rural villages, were found to be uncommon.[5]

5 No reliable statistics could be found. These remarks and those in the next paragraph are based on personal observation, impressions and conversations.

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw [353] and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character, 875 of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools 212 are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the result of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

535 Dancing and samisen playing are learned by imitation and self-533 instruction. Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old 868 and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts; they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor do the schools teach native dances, songs, or samisen playing. (In [562] recent years instruction books have been furnished when a samisen is purchased). Samisen playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only the old women feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but little facility in American dancing.

532 Hanging scrolls (kakemono) are often purchased by the villagers. But these are dashed off affairs, following Japanese art conventions, such as the jolly Japanese patron saint, tigers, the bamboo-plum blossom-cherry triad, and the turtle and the cormorant, etc.

● 181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to [533] their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without [535] singing, dancing, and samisen playing. Good drawing and calligraphy are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts. [532] Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in [868] books, organized teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination. [369] The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware, [636] ceramics, and paintings. Possibly also Japanese repression of the native culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

ment in these arts, in my opinion, is not due to absence of feeling and talent, but to conditions unfavorable to the development of ability beyond the stage of extemporaneous entertainment or for simple practical ends. 181

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Activities of Old Age

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In old age there is no distinct break with the activities experienced from childhood. Around the age of 55 a man or a woman is considered old. He or she has left the middle age, and henceforth may be called grandfather or grandmother.

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A man legally retires at sixty. But this is retirement from house headship not from active work. The retired father remains in the background but he is respected and consulted. Men and women in their fifties, sixties, and seventies work much more leisurely and sporadically at their tasks, if they can. In the eighties, if they are still able, they confine themselves to strolls throughout the village. There are afternoon naps. The old go to bed very early. But they do not, if physically able, lose contact with the life around them.

This lack of retirement from active life, among the old, is most pronounced in agricultural villages because there are so many simple and easy chores to be done. In non-agricultural occupations, the opportunities for continuing work in old age are not so great. But there are compradsee. In Hinatogawa, the old men often repair the fishing nets, help take care of the boats, dry fish, and cut grasses. The old stonecutter does light chipping and bevelling. The old woman may gather rocks.

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There is no formal legal retirement for a woman, unless she is the head of a house. One of the striking activities of old women is their frequent travelling on buses. They may be merely visiting a nearby village, or they may have a basket of fish, vegetables, eggs, or perhaps a chicken to sell. They add humor and gayety to a bus journey. An old woman does not hesitate to tell a young person politely but authoritatively to give her a seat or to ask the passengers to make way for her. Old women make humorous comments, and talk freely to total strangers. Okinawans of all ages are courteous to the old and to women with children and readily give up their seats, even on a long bus journey.

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In these villages, one cannot fail to notice the good humor, the interest in life, and the honored place of the old. It is not uncommon for a young man or a young woman from another village, in leisure hours, to visit an old person: a grandparent, an uncle or an aunt, the midwife who attended at his birth, his "growing up" parent, or the elderly relative of one of his friends. These visits are not mere formalities, and they may sit talking an hour or two over tea. Old men and women

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Death and Funeral Services

Okinawans, as so many have thought, are not preoccupied with death, burial customs, and their tombs. The popular criticism that they extravagantly spend all their money building tombs is unjust and comes from a superficial understanding of their function. Memorial observances, not the tombs, are the real sources of expense to surviving relatives.

The same basic customs were found in all the villages. On the death of an adult, the eyes are closed, the body washed, and fresh clothes are put on it. There is no embalming. The finger nails and hair are cut. (Haircutting is not universal). The body is then placed in a small wooden coffin. This is about 19 inches wide and about 22 inches deep, with the length varying according to height. An average length would be slightly over 4 feet. This is the traditional Buddhist coffin. Placing the body in a coffin this size requires doubling it up. The head rests on a small Japanese type pillow (makura). The legs are bent to bring the knees near the chin, and the hands folded over the chest. Articles for use in the afterworld, okurimono ("sending away things"), are also placed in the coffin. Though the articles vary, they generally include a pair of slippers, a kimono (for a woman), a kimono or western style pair of pants for a man, tobacco and tobacco cases, a towel, and sake in one flask, and water in another. Seven needles are stuck on each side of the kimono or the lapel of a coat. In Hanashiro, clogs and slippers are not placed in the coffin, but in front of the tomb at interment. When the coffin is closed, it is turned with the head facing west.[1]

On death, close relatives up to first cousins are first summoned, followed by relatives in the extended family living in or near the village. There are no hard and fast customs about taking care of the body. First or other sons may take care of a father's body; brothers and cousins of a young girl's; the first son of the mother's; the eldest younger brother of an elder brother's; the first son or the father of a second or succeeding son's. Sometimes female relatives take care of the body. A husband or wife does not perform this duty for the other. The father or the mother prepare the body of a younger child.

Burial follows death very quickly. By law a body must be buried within 24 hours, but the interment is often quicker than this. An adult

1 There is confusion whether the head is placed to the north or to the west because the Okinawan word for north is the Japanese word for west.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CONCLUSION

The description of village life presented in the preceding pages is not the delineation of an ancient way of life essentially unchanged from the remote past. Neither is it the study of an old way of living which is now passing away. Rather it is a glimpse of a culture, at a particular moment in time, which has been changing, sometimes slowly, sometimes with great rapidity. The theme of inertia and change, developed in the second chapter, furnishes an opportunity for understanding the culture in the perspective of history. Even though the changes of the last decade have been impressive, they are less striking when placed beside some of the great changes of the past.

This small island, known to Oriental antiquity and to the Western world after the Age of Discovery, is an excellent illustration of the combination of influences from the outside and of the progressive changes made in the natural environment as a consequence of long human settlement. This theme, imperfectly documented, has repeatedly appeared in this work in order that the affinities of soil and land conservation and forest care with social and cultural questions, such as organization of government, the family system, and economic problems may be recognized.

This idea of a changing culture, in a physical environment of meticulous tillage and of minute subdivision, enables us to see more clearly the inter-relationships of the family system, inheritance, land tenure, the care and conservation of the land, and the methods of agriculture. It is the values within the family system that have given content and meaning to the natural resources, to the tiny paddies, the stony sweet potato patches, and the barren wild land. The tombs and the grave sites also find a place in this minute appraisal of the value and the use of land.

This minute knowledge of the land, obvious as it is to observation, is one of the outstanding cultural characteristics of the people. Indeed this is true of other Oriental peoples as well, even though their preferences have been for the transported soils of the alluvial plains and the deltas. This detailed knowledge of land, of its productivity as gauged by the farmers' patient success in tilling it, is used to build up the system of land classification.

No less striking is the intimate knowledge of small localities. A tiny village may have five or six of these localities, dignified with a name which, in our culture, would be given to a portion of a large city. Every little spot has a name, even though the origins and the circumstances of the naming are lost in hazy memory.

In this use and tillage of land, perhaps the most important comparison to be made is that, unlike China, Japan, and Korea, dry land and upland agriculture is the chief reliance of the people. There are no Yangtse river deltas and no Kanto plains in Okinawa. The care, conservation and use of land have crept up the hillsides over the most settled

parts of the island, and the small deltas, the tiny alluvial plains, the short and narrow valleys are left to produce what little rice can be grown.

Okinawa is not Japan and perhaps it is unrewarding to attempt comparisons between the Okinawans and the Japanese. Okinawa is an island whose rural life is but little disturbed by urban development. Only two places, Naha and Shuri, could be classified as small cities. Important places like Nago, Ishikawa, and Yonabaru are only small towns.

Japan is a culture rich in both its rural and its urban life. The investigation of the life of the great metropolitan cities of Japan is more scattered in specialised studies, more casual, perhaps more impressionistic than the study of some of its villages. Japanese and Okinawan rural life have many things in common, though the Japanese experience may now be distinctly different because of the land reform.

But along with the rural village, there are the great cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya, and these circumstances make an appraisal of Japanese culture even more complex and elusive.

Certainly the long cultural ties with Japan have left their impressions on the people of Okinawa. The Japanese language, the Japanese system of education, altered after the war, Japanese tools, and Japanese literature are clear examples of this direct influence. But there are differences too. Adoption is much less common in Okinawa. The Buddhist influence, except for the altars of household Buddhism, is weak. The Okinawans, during the war, seemed less inclined than the Japanese toward fanatical self-sacrifice in behalf of the emperor cult.

In this work, I have avoided discussing the popular subject of the "psychology" of the people. After a few commonplaces, one embarks on a series of impressions which may or may not have validity and which most certainly would be subject to endless qualification. I have therefore, for the most part, left the characteristics of the people to emerge from the descriptions of their historical experience, their social organisation, and their family and community life, trusting that from these details one can form an impression of the way in which a people are living and how they meet the manifold problems which confront them.

In my own studies, I have been impressed with the feeling of belonging which seems to be the possession of the individual from infancy until his children lay him to rest in the family tomb. There is also a stability in family life, and this stability does not seem so pivoted, as in our culture, on the continued mutual love and affection of the father and the mother. There also seems to be little stress on personal competition.

The infant as well as the mature adult are conditioned to conformity both by the historical obligations and duties under the family

2:Maretaki & Maretaki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge.

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms.

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good."

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions.

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are

855 861 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be restated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 0181 171 861 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt" that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese. Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857 524 [209] [177] Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both, if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[564] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 178 [881] [877] 877 882 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fifteenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite. But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the behavior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

2 Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

642 highly structured system; the overall impression is of rule by bureaucracy. Most importantly the average individual accepts all of this as in the natural ordering of things. The best possible relationship of the state to the people is thought to be a paternalistic one, like father to children. Such an attitude is wholly in keeping with a culture which has traditionally stressed family and community over individual, and obligations over rights.

632 'Son' Government The administrative center of every 'son' is the township office ('sonyakuba') which serves as the connecting link between the people of its villages and the central government in Naha. The main functions of this office are to transmit and implement the directives and laws of the central government to the people, to collect taxes, and to keep records---the most important of these being the household registry ('koseki') and land records ('tochi daichō'). The size of the office staff is largely determined by the township size; in the larger townships there are many departments and employees, but in a small 'son' several departments may be grouped under a single head.

632 The building housing this office is usually a single-storied structure
344 located in the largest village of the township; a post office, school, agri-
[368] cultural office, and store are often nearby. The interior of the office building is one large room sometimes sub-divided into smaller offices by the use of screens; one end of the room is set aside for meetings. On the exterior of the building along one side the names of the various departments are above the windows. When a villager calls at the office on business, he ordinarily does not enter the building but stands outside the window appropriate to his business until a clerk or official of that department opens it and speaks to him.

632 At the head of the township government is the 'sonchō' ('son' mayor),
554 who in addition to directing its affairs functions as the liaison between the 'son' and the central government. It was the author's impression after spending considerable time in one 'son' office and visiting several others that the 'sonchō' is usually a very busy man and that he is more often away from his office than in it. In addition to directing the activities of his office, he makes numerous inspections within the township, attends meetings and conferences in other parts of the island, and once a month participates in a council of all the mayors of the municipalities, which is held in Naha. The latter enables the mayors of the municipalities to discuss common problems and to come in contact with the officials of the central government. Three times each month he meets with the mayors ('kuchō') of the villages within his township for a discussion of local problems. It is said that the office can be a stepping stone for the politically ambitious since his activities bring a wide range of contacts; this cannot be said for any other office in the 'son' or 'ku'. During the course of his research on Okinawa the author met the mayors of five or six municipalities, and in all cases he was impressed by the intelligence and ability of these men. A mayor is elected for a term of four years and is eligible for reelection.

632 The chief lieutenants of the 'sonchō' are the assistant mayor ('joyaku') and the revenue officer or treasurer ('shūnyūyaku'); the latter usually directs all financial matters, and his major function is tax collection and

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them.

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men.

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households.

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy

829 considered the initiator of all action. Frequently there are complaints of high taxes, criticisms of certain policies, and dissatisfaction with certain officials, but the authority of a government to undertake any course it chooses would never be challenged. There does not exist any concept of a limit to obedience or to the powers of government.

7. Social Control

626 621 The mechanisms of social control within an Okinawan village are not easily observed or studied since they are so rarely overt. One is impressed from the outset by the homogeneous character of the community, a natural outcome of the common experience and cultural heritage which all the members have shared. The average villager has had a limited range of contacts during the course of his or her lifetime, imposed to no small degree by the all-consuming demands of subsistence agriculture. Minorities within [183] the community rarely exist, and where they do, they are not recognized as such, for this homegeneity, in addition to being an actuality, is insisted upon as a cultural ideal. Consequently great stress is placed on presenting a united front to the outside. Within the community aggressive behavior is not tolerated and so great is the fear of rift through discord that few official acts are initiated without first securing informal concordance; consequently, formal political meetings are most often marked by unanimity and agreement. In enlisting the support of the villagers for a given project or proposed line of action leaders most frequently appeal to group solidarity, stressing the values of cooperation.

As is so often found in small communities where all the members have a face-to-face relationship, the chief mechanisms of social sanction are ridicule, censure, and the threat of ostracism. The small size and homogeneous nature of the Okinawan village limits the individual's behavior to a rather narrow and inflexible standard. The individual, however, must consider his actions not only in terms of the reactions of others to him but also in terms of the consequences for his family. Under the old kingdom the family was legally responsible for the actions of its members, and [672] [178] at the present time an individual is officially registered as a member of a certain family and is always thought of by the villagers in association 626 with that family. One's mistakes as well as one's achievements reflect upon 621 the other members of the family and are shared by them. This emphasis on • 181 family and community over the individual serves markedly to curb individualism and to further the homogeneity of the society. Conformity and honoring one's obligations are the major cultural values. The surrogate for this strong cultural deemphasis of the individual is provided by a close ego identity with the family and community and by the security which they offer in return. The severest sanction which can be applied is expulsion of the individual from his group.

8. Local Autonomy

642 621 On a small island with a highly centralized government there is little room for local autonomy. Most action is initiated in the higher echelons of government and is unquestioningly obeyed at the lower levels. There

Although Okinawans occasionally refer to Heaven or the Gods of Heaven (J. 'Ten no kami-sama'; Okinawan U-kami-ganashii, etc.), the concept does not seem to be well defined. The clearest statement heard on the subject was the one just mentioned in connection with the Fire God. Since the dead, or some of them, rise to Heaven, the term "Gods of Heaven" may include them, but there are evidently other greater beings too. These may be identical with the figures of the native origin myth. But aside from a few enthusiasts, mainly local historians and shamans (yuta), few Okinawans seem informed about or concerned with native cosmology, or any other. This may in part be the result of a generation or so of Japanese education with educators attempting to take the Japanese mythology seriously and making Okinawan mythology jibe with it. But it is more likely that this lack of concern with Heaven is due rather to an old tendency common in East Asia to settle matters at the local level without bothering the higher authorities, in dealing with both political problems and spiritual problems.

In the Okinawan universe there are also a few earthly beings with supernatural power. The akamataa is a real species of non-poisonous snake. But it is believed to be able to change itself into a handsome young man, in which form it seduces unwitting young women. One young woman who was seduced is said to have given birth to a whole tubful of baby akamataa.

The kijimunaa is a wholly mythical being but seems to belong more in the natural world. According to some it lives in old trees, but according to others it is a sea-being who lives on fish and shellfish and who will become the helper of a fisherman who makes friends with it. Regardless of habitat, the kijimunaa is believed to approach a sleeping person and sit on his chest, nearly suffocating him and preventing him from crying out. Apparently the being is not dangerous but merely annoying.

Another being that is feared is the tamagai or 'hidama', "fireball". This was described in Yamada as a light that appears at certain times as an omen. However, in a village in Southern Okinawa it is regarded as the cause of fire. Since it is a female being the young men of this village drive it away by forming a procession and marching through the village shouting "Hoo hai!" ("Your vulva's showing.")

The Itoman people speak of the ja or 'ryu', the "dragon". This being lives in the sea or the clouds; its tail is the whirlwind; its feces, if one is fortunate enough to find them; are like coal tar and are a very valuable medicine. Other Okinawans seem to regard this as something only the Itoman people know about.

One more concept is perhaps worth mentioning; this is shiji. Certain places, the sacred hilltop of the village, etc., are said to be shiji-dakasang, "high in shiji", and therefore to be approached with respect. It is also said of persons, especially those believed to be destined to become religious practitioners. The term shiji evidently signifies a sort of supernatural power that adheres to places and people, perhaps like the Oceanian concept "mana". Haring has suggested that the Japanese concept

753 177 [562] that I found the greatest resistance to any suggestion that American methods might have equal or greater validity. American material culture the Okinawans are delighted to accept, and they are eager for more. American social relationships they look somewhat askance at but they are willing to experiment, in a small way, with equal rights for women. But the suggestion that medically they don't know what ails them is harder to take. They are willing to accept modern medical explanations of disease as a partial explanation, perhaps as the occasional means by which the ultimate causes affect disease. The ultimate causes are supernatural.

753 177 769 182 To challenge the concept ugwambusuku, the insufficiency of worship that causes illness, is to challenge the present structure of religion, and at a point where it is most closely bound to social organization. Anxiety over insufficiency of worship and its possible consequences is probably the strongest force motivating the whole range of activities connected with death, burial, and the worship of ancestors. It is not too far-fetched to suggest that it is also a reason for respecting one's elders during their lifetime. It is no wonder that Okinawans show a strong resistance to any challenge to these beliefs, even though they may not be conscious of all the implications of the challenge.

753 177 757 To challenge the whole structure of belief would probably be wholly unsuccessful. Or if somehow the Okinawans could be persuaded to abandon these beliefs at once, the result would probably be either chaos or the uncritical acceptance of another set of beliefs that might soon prove to be just as far out of line with medical science as the present. Probably the surest way to introduce modern medical concepts is by gradually whittling down the native concepts beginning with the more peripheral ones. This is not as hopeless as it might seem, for some changes have already taken place. [546] Until recently women after childbirth were baked for about a week over a fire in the jiiru, a hearth in the back room of the house, even in hot weather. It is said that it was a very uncomfortable experience and that in warm weather it often resulted in rashes and boils, yet it was practiced because it was thought to be necessary for the health of the woman. In the last few years this practice has been abandoned. One woman informant was positive that the hideous skin condition called heegasa or "scruff" could be prevented by drawing out the "bad blood", but she was equally positive that the former practice of baking a new mother was useless if not harmful. Some day she may become convinced that cutting an infant's buttocks with a razor is useless if not harmful. She will be convinced when someone has demonstrated to her that heegasa can be prevented by another means and that because the blood circulates it is no more"bad" at one place than another. The concept "bad blood" is a peripheral one, with no close relationship to religion or social organization.

Other peripheral beliefs are those associated with the yabuu, the efficacy of moxa and the golden needle of acupuncture. In demonstrating the superiority of modern medicine over these techniques one may not always count on the cooperation of educated Okinawans. In opposing the practice of [181] the yabuu and other practitioners one runs counter to one of the strongest themes of Okinawan culture---one must not interfere with another's livelihood.

[Yamada]

621 the village. The oldest of the children is in school; she is the product of
144 a brief affair during the early days of the occupation. While some informants
563 showed some reluctance to discuss the half-white children, by forgetting that they existed until reminded of them, I saw no evidence that the children suffered any discrimination. There are also several Yamada women living outside Yamada, particularly in Ishikawa, with Americans and Filipinos; several of
621 these have mixed-blood children. Some of the Yamada women who are "married"
582 to Americans have attempted to maintain their relationship with their own
177 families and establish some kind of relationship between their families and their "husbands". On New Year's, when family calls are in order, two sisters who were both living with Americans at another village brought their "husbands" to pay their respects to their grandfather. I was in the old man's house when one of the girls appeared with her American. The American behaved quite properly, taking off his shoes and sitting cross-legged on the mat opposite the grandfather. The grandfather greeted him with dignity and reserve. The girl, who had acquired a fair command of English, translated a few sentences and looked very pleased with herself. Drinks were exchanged and the visit was over. Further contact was hardly possible, but this sort of gesture was probably sufficient to demonstrate to the family and to others that the relationship was a serious one. Most relationships are less serious.

621 The former cafe in Kuraha was said to have had women available for
727 prostitution several years ago, but the CO of the local unit who held the
177 meetings with the villagers is said to have disapproved of prostitution in the village and therefore the women left. In the spring of 1954, however,
548 another prostitute was at the cafe, even though it was not operating as such, and a new brothel was established at Ajimaa. There a 'Mama-san' ("madame" in GI Japanese) rented a house for herself and her three girls. The house is one of the newer tile-roofed buildings; it is just below the school grounds and across the highway; it is the property of the brother-in-law of one of the school teachers. Since the shortest way to the place from the unit is directly across the school ground, this was the route taken one afternoon by the three gaudily painted girls as they led a soldier home. I did not have much opportunity to discuss the matter with many people but got the following reaction from one informant: "On the one hand the brothel is good because people are making money; on the other hand it is bad because it makes a bad environment. If anyone complained about it, probably the owners of the house would say that the person complaining is just envious because of the money they are making in rent. Probably even the school teachers could not complain. One cannot interfere with a person's way of making money. The only way it could be stopped would be for the whole village to stop it." This was a clear
• [131] expression of two of the basic themes of Okinawan culture, themes that have been mentioned before in connection with other problems; first, one must not interfere in another's livelihood, and second, one must not stand alone; action must be group action. This informant was not overly concerned about the possible bad effects of the presence of the brothel below the school on the school children. Some of the school teachers may have been, yet they too were probably as unwilling to take action individually.

621 While some Yamada people have profited by the presence of the unit,
727 others have suffered some loss. Considerable land is still not available to its owners and while they have received rental from it the amount is not